



**QUEEN'S
UNIVERSITY
BELFAST**

Advancing Research on Men and Reproduction

Lohan, M. (2015). Advancing Research on Men and Reproduction. *International Journal of Men's Health*, 14(3).
<https://doi.org/10.3149/jmh.1403.214>

Published in:
International Journal of Men's Health

Document Version:
Early version, also known as pre-print

Queen's University Belfast - Research Portal:
[Link to publication record in Queen's University Belfast Research Portal](#)

Publisher rights
© 2015, The Author

General rights
Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Queen's University Belfast Research Portal is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy
The Research Portal is Queen's institutional repository that provides access to Queen's research output. Every effort has been made to ensure that content in the Research Portal does not infringe any person's rights, or applicable UK laws. If you discover content in the Research Portal that you believe breaches copyright or violates any law, please contact openaccess@qub.ac.uk.

Author and Acknowledgements

Dr Maria Lohan

School of Nursing and Midwifery, Queen's University Belfast

Acknowledgements

The author acknowledges funding received from the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Research, University of British Columbia (UBC) as a Visiting International Scholar (2013) and presentation of an earlier version of this paper at UBC as part of the Peter Wall Institute public lecture series. The author also acknowledges comments received on a version of this paper when presented at the Men, Health and Wellbeing Conference: Critical Insights, July 2014 at Leeds Beckett University, along with comments gratefully received during refereeing process.

Abstract

Advancing Research on Men and Reproduction

Maria Lohan

While feminist scholarship has centred reproduction in women's lives, it has inadequately explored its meanings in men's. If we assume that reproduction happens in relationships of one kind or another between males and females, then missing men is a considerable oversight. Although there is now much research on fatherhood, merely focussing on this end-stage assumes that women take care of all of the foreplay, leaving unanswered questions in relation *inter alia* to men's desires for parenthood, men's involvement in planning or lack of planning to have children, the way men struggle or cope with infertility, their encounters with new reproductive technologies and surrogate mothers, their experiences of foetal screening, their involvement in abortion decision making and their experiences of becoming or not becoming a father. In this paper I argue that men have compelling experiences across the reproductive trajectory deserving of more attention. I offer a pro-feminist theoretical composition for advancing further enquiries on men and reproduction which begins with the feminist informed Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities (CSM), and then weaves this together with the theories of intimate citizenship, sociology of the body and the sociology of science and technology. I will propose how concepts from these collective theories may be useful in opening up layered questions about gender relations, intimacy, bodies and technologies in future studies of men and reproduction.

Key Words

Feminism, Reproduction, Critical Studies of Men, Fatherhood, Bodies, Technology

Advancing Research on Men and Reproduction

‘We alone decide/Whether to have children or not’, My body belongs to me’ And not by chance is the standard feminist work on birth control entitled *Woman’s Body, Woman’s Right* (Gordon, 1977). (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 70)

Introduction

The right for a woman to control her fertility strikes at the very heart of feminist theory and feminist politics. Consequently, feminist work on reproduction has been at the centre of feminist politics and the sociology of gender and health. This work has not just sat on shelves, but has contributed to change in our lives. For example, in the early part of the 20th century, contraceptive practices were rooted in men’s culture and it was men who initiated discussions of birth control, determining choice of methods and interacting with providers (Oudshoorn, 2004). For women in high-income countries across the world, this is largely no longer the case and the feminist movement was central to these changes. In addition, fundamental to feminist midwifery practices continues to be the ‘re-claiming of birth’ from the male and medical- dominated field of obstetrics (Annandale & Clark, 1996, p. 28) and delivered in some parts of the world as ‘woman-centred care’. The results of this feminist movement have been immense in terms of advancing control for women over when they become pregnant and where and how they give birth. However, the results have also meant the re-construction of *family planning* and *reproductive health* as women’s responsibility and as being synonymous with femininity.

In this paper I wish to acknowledge the importance of feminist theory and feminist achievements in reproductive health care, but posit the query “how might we advance research on men and reproduction?” Building on the work of others (Hearn, 1983; Marsiglio 1993; Marsiglio et al 2013; Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2004; Oudshoorn, 2004; Kero & Lalos, 2004; Daniels, 2006; Inhorn et al, 2009; Sherr, 2010; Gutmann, 2011; Barnes, 2013; Culley et al, 2013; Almeling and Waggoner, 2013; Lindberg & Kost, 2014; Reich, 2015), I argue that

while feminist scholarship has centred reproductive experiences in women's lives, it has inadequately explored their meanings in men's lives. Reproduction, despite its universality as a central aspect in men's as well as women's lives is so little investigated in men's lives and men are largely absent in the literature on family planning, fertility, reproductive health and midwifery (Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2009; Greene & Biddlecom, 2000; Culley, Hudson and Lohan, 2013). While acknowledging this dearth of research on men and reproduction, Almeling and Waggoner (2013) also identified two types of emerging social studies of men and reproduction, namely 1) men's experiences of reproduction and 2) social analyses of biomedical approaches to understanding sperm, including how it has been scrutinized by scientists in the twentieth century. However, they situate their provocative analysis and research agenda for men and reproduction 'squarely on the medical profession' (2013: 824) as a significant site of how the gendered nature of reproduction is co-constructed in science and society.

The focus for the research agenda in this paper is instead on men's experiences of reproduction. Every day, in all parts of the world, men consider having children, imagine themselves as fathers, struggle as well as cope with infertility, donate sperm, consider parenting through surrogacy and adoption, receive news of unwanted pregnancies, news of foetal loss and abnormalities, make decisions about abortions, and also become parents. Men have compelling experiences of reproduction that are deserving of more attention (Marsiglio, Lohan, & Culley, 2013). Unquestionably, we have much work to do to make research on reproduction richer and to develop reproductive policies and healthcare which are more relevant to contemporary reproductive practices by including men's experiences and concerns alongside that of women's.

The challenge of advancing research on men's experiences of reproduction alongside that of women's raises questions about appropriate theoretical frameworks to guide this research. Cynthia Daniels's (2006) seminal work developed the concept of 'reproductive masculinity' as a set of assumptions about men's relationships within human reproduction. She defines reproductive masculinity in terms of four interrelated elements: First, men are assumed to be secondary in biological reproduction; second, men are assumed to be less vulnerable to reproductive harm than women; third, men are assumed to be virile; and fourth, men are assumed to be relatively distant from the health problems of the children they father (2006: 6-7). The value of this theoretical construction of reproductive masculinity is that sets up a set of heuristic assumptions through which researchers might open questions about men's

experiences of reproduction. However, it can also become constraining in research, limiting questions to a distinct set of culturally situated assumptions or ‘straw men’ to be challenged through empirical research. An alternative approach to developing analytical lenses for research is to begin from a set of social theories which may have relevance to men and reproduction, drawing out sets of questions/hypotheses which could act as sensitising constructs in advancing research on men and reproduction.

In this paper I offer a pro-feminist theoretical composition for researching men’s voices in relation to reproduction which begins with the primary foundation stone of the feminist informed Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities (CSM), and then weaves this together with the theory of intimate citizenship, sociology of the body/embodiment and the sociology of science and technology (STS). It is essentially a partial raiding of social theory to propose a means of re-integrating men’s voices into research on reproduction and reproductive decision-making which is pro-feminist, which acknowledges the intersectionalities of gender with social class, ethnicity and sexuality, and which recognizes the materiality of the body and that of new reproductive technologies.

The structure of the paper will firstly elaborate the changing context of research on men and reproduction, before exploring the types of questions raised about men and reproduction through the separate theories of CSM, theories of intimate citizenship, the sociology of the body/embodiment and STS. These strands will be loosely woven together in the final section through an illustrated example of the types of questions they raise for research on men and reproduction. The illustrated example relates to adolescent men and pregnancy and, specifically, adolescent men’s experiences and understandings of their roles in decision-making about termination of pregnancy, placing a baby for adoption or keeping a baby. I have chosen this example first because, relative to certain areas of men and reproduction, for example infertility and new reproductive technologies, men’s experiences of unintended pregnancy is very under-researched; and second, because it serves to highlight some of the tensions for feminist scholarship in researching men’s voices on issues which feminist research has sought to amplify women’s voices and women’s choices.

Why Men and Reproduction? Global Drivers

Two of the main global developments driving interest in men and reproduction are changing understandings in the field of population and development and changing understandings of fatherhood.

In relation to global reproductive health, the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development and the report that followed (United Nations, 1994) was a game changer because it formally articulated a change in thinking. The change was a move away from an overarching concern with population control in low-income countries and a move towards the promotion of reproductive health based on a human rights paradigm, aimed at empowering *women* to control their fertility and their access to safe childbearing. However, the report also represented a significant shift in thinking because it made explicit that the role of men in reproduction was heretofore largely ignored in the design of population and family planning policies and that this needed to change, especially to accelerate progress for women.

The document acknowledged men in the following ways. It acknowledged:

- Men's powerful position in society which can impede women's reproductive rights.
- Reproduction occurs mostly in couples and the need to include men.
- The need for the inclusion of men in education and health services.

Some of this concern to include men came from decades of public attention given to the HIV/AIDS pandemic through which men's sexual practices and the potential control that men exert over family planning within couples came under greater critical scrutiny (Gutmann, 2011). The tenor of most of this global drive is to encourage men to take more responsibility for planning reproduction and to take greater cognisance of women's health needs and the broader goals of women. For, example, the United Nations Family Planning Report that followed spoke of the importance of educating men towards a 'different interpretation of masculinity, replacing the one based on domination to one defined by shared responsibility' (UNFPA, 1995, p. 16).

However, there is a foundation of research on men and reproduction that is also necessary if such policies to engage men are to be meaningful, and effective. According to Dudgeon and Inhorn (2004, 2009), we know very little about men's own reproductive concerns, their involvement in reproductive decision-making and reproductive experiences, or indeed how men contribute to women's reproductive decisions and their reproductive health. The

problematization of men in reproduction in the global south, or low-income countries, is nonetheless of global significance in driving a research and policy agenda on men and reproduction and making men visible in the reproductive equation.

A further driver for including men in reproduction which is more notable in high income countries is the new cultural and policy importance of fatherhood. In particular, the new iconic father is the involved, nurturing father and while this new ideal of fatherhood unsurprisingly varies in terms of ethnicity, social class and indeed sexuality, it is becoming a remarkably salient cultural idiom. Policy plays a role here too. Internationally, governments are introducing carrot and stick approaches to support fatherhood. The sticks are neo-liberal inspired policies to get men to take financial responsibility for their children (pay maintenance) and the carrots are evident in policy documents such as the British government's introduction of shared parental leave in England and Wales in 2014, and later in other parts of the UK, enabling both parents to have greater flexibility in how they share the care of their child in the first year after birth along with broader sets of measures to offer improved support to fathers, as outlined in the Families and Relationship Green Paper (2010). These policy moves are not just economically inspired, however, they are grounded in research which suggests that fathers' involvement with their children can improve children's lives and reduce social marginalisation (See Horn & Sylvester, 2002, and Sakardi et al 2008 for an overview) and as the 'science of parenting' (Furedi, 2008) has increased in our society, so too has this focus on fathers. Finally, the debate on the merits of new fatherhood is often framed in terms of 'social justice' for fathers in societies where mothers are prioritized over fathers as the socially accepted best caregivers for children (Philip and O'Brien, 2012).

Academic research on fatherhood has both contributed to and reflected upon the changing role of fatherhood. While, historically, much of the research on fatherhood was dominated by a focus on the 'role' of the father in child development, informed by psychological perspectives (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; Lewis & Lamb, 2007) over the last twenty to thirty years, research has emerged which also analyses socio-cultural representations of fatherhood and the interpersonal processes associated with how fathers construct and negotiate paternal identities (see Goldberg, Tan, & Thorsen (2009) for an overview and Inhorn, Chavkin, & Navarro (2014) as a recent cross-cultural collection of ethnographies of fatherhood). Within fatherhood research also has been a critique on the extent to which the new ideal of fatherhood is *inter alia*, one that men cannot live up to (Machin, *In press*), as a well as cultural ideal that strengthens the 'patriarchal dividend' rather

than contributing to more equitable relations between men and women (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 1998; Lazar, 2000; Deeney, Lohan, Parkes and Spence, 2012).

However, despite this large body of research on fatherhood, much less has been written on men's participation in reproductive planning and on men's reproductive desires, or what Marsiglio (1993) has referred to as men's 'procreative consciousness' (men's subjective experiences related to reproductive issues) and 'procreative responsibility' (men's sense of obligation regarding contraception, pregnancy resolution and child support and care). Hence in this paper, and in common with Almeling and Waggoner (2013), I refer to advancing socio-cultural research on men and reproduction rather than on fatherhood *per se*, so as extend the lens of fatherhood research to include all that comes before conception in terms of desiring children, the planning to have or to avoid having children, and all that comes after conception, with respect to pregnancy, or termination or loss of pregnancy, and through to birth and the caring for infants and children.

Developing an Analytical Framework for Research on Men and Reproduction

Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities (CSM)

Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities is a useful starting point for developing an analytical framework for research on men and reproduction because it arises from within academic feminist studies and gay and queer studies (see Hearn & Morgan, 1990 & Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005). CSM has been an important departure point for exploring the gendered construction of men's lives and de-constructing the oppositional ways masculinities and femininities have been constructed within traditional feminist theory, instead looking for the ground between. In CSM, the political response to men goes beyond radical feminism (all men as oppressors) and liberal feminism (achieving parity with men) to explicitly engaging men in intellectual and political co-operations for more equitable gender relations. In that sense, CSM may be seen as being part of a movement of post-structuralist theory within feminism. According to Annandale and Clarke (1996), the emergence of post-structuralist theory within feminism 'heightens our awareness of diversity in men's and women's experiences and adds impetus to the re-conceptualisation of reproduction in inter-relational terms (rather than as 'women's difficulty')' (1996, p. 33).

CSM has three strong conceptual lenses to offer. First, it is about recognizing 'that men have gender too' (Annandale & Riska, 2009, p. 123). This field of scholarship turns a mirror onto

‘the male-gaze’ which identified women as gendered or othered and opens up the way that gender operates in men’s lives too. In examining the social construction of gender in men’s lives, there is, as in feminist research in women’s lives, a challenging of the equation of sex with gender and recognition of the historically as well as culturally variable construction of masculinities across different societies and with respect to ethnicity, sexuality age and social class (Kimmel, 1987).

A further key analytical construct within CSM is that of hegemonic masculinity. This is principally used to theorise hierarchies of power between men which shape how certain men are judged against other men. It relies upon the identification of the symbolically powerful ideals of masculinity in a particular context, such that alternate ideals of masculinity appear less legitimate (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985; Connell, 1987, 1995). The concept of hegemonic masculinity, while ubiquitous in CSM, has also attracted criticism from opposing realist and poststructuralist perspectives, as discussed by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). The realist critique suggests that relationships between hierarchies of male power over women and hierarchies of power between men need to be more fully theorized (see further below) while the poststructuralist criticism is that the concept essentialises the masculine subject. In essence, the latter critique is that the concept of hegemonic masculinity has become a mantra in men’s research for a fixed, known type of ‘toxic’ masculinity and the argument is that analyses of the masculine subject should be freed from unitary and structural discourses of the subject to show the more fluid and multiple constructions of masculine identities in men’s everyday practices (see for example Bird, 1996; and Dominelli & Gollins, 1997). Recognising the potential for the concept of hegemonic masculinity to emphasise the dominant and hierarchical, Inhorn and Wentzell (2011: 803) instead offer the concept of ‘emergent masculinities’ as a sensitising construct through which we might analyse the novel and transformative aspects of contemporary masculinities, while simultaneously accounting for globalizing geographies, and masculine embodiment.

My own conclusion is that the concept of hegemonic masculinity remains useful for probing questions concerning the salient cultural and symbolic ideals of masculinities in a given context and how power relations among men may be structured around such ideals. What I take from this debate on hegemonic masculinity also is a heightened sense of importance of challenging our ideas of what constitutes localised hegemonic masculinities and the need for continuous attention to the ways by which hegemonic forms of masculinity are challenged by emergent masculinities, as well as how masculine ideals may be disjointed within

subjectivities – in the conflicting motivations of men's lives. It also speaks to the importance of considering masculine embodiment as a focus of gender stability as well as gender transformation, and I return to this further below.

The realist critique of hegemonic masculinity was briefly referred to above. However, the realist critique is not just specific to this concept of hegemonic masculinity but to the field of CSM more broadly. The realist critique within CSM is about acknowledging power relations between men and women, acknowledging men's greater power in society vis á vis women, or indeed simply put, acknowledging patriarchy (Hearn & Morgan, 1990). In particular, for the purposes of advancing feminist informed research on men and reproduction it is about acknowledging that the material resources that men control in society affects the reproductive choices of women (Chant & Gutmann, 2002). So too, it is about acknowledging men's greater symbolic control in society over the sexual and reproductive norms they support or subvert (Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2004, 2009). Essentially, then, the realist critique within CSM is about keeping a structural dimension of gender relations in society active as an analytical device, *even* if we are exploring men's lives only, and *even* when we are doing so compassionately in relation to seeking to understand how men can be included in reproduction.

To summarise briefly, CSM is a useful starting point for studying reproduction in men's lives because it is built on a foundation of feminist theory and dedicated to applying a gender lens on men's lives and gender relations between men and women which incorporates men's perspectives. This scholarship contributes to feminist theory by adding concepts with which we can interrogate power relations amongst men symbolically as well as materially. In the following sections I will demonstrate how other areas of social theory may be weaved into CSM in order to enrich our conceptual frameworks for advancing research on men and reproduction.

Intimacy in Late Modernity

Theories of intimacy in late modernity are helpful to extending investigations of men and reproduction beyond the context of changing gender identities to include sociological and anthropological debates of the new family and relationship contexts in which reproductive decisions are made as well as socio-cultural meanings of love. US theorists such as Lasch in

his books *Haven in a heartless world: The Family Beseiged* (1977) and *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979) and Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton in their book entitled *Individualism and Commitment in American life* (1985) have focussed on broad changes in family structure and the rise of self-help and therapeutic cultures. European theorists such as Jamieson (1997), Anthony Giddens (1992), Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995; 2002) and Bauman (2000) have focussed on the decline of traditional symbolic authorities in society and argue, as a result, relationships have become more ‘do-it-yourself’ projects.

In the latter body of work, the argument is made that a new form of intimacy which gives heightened importance to love and equality in the emotional exchange has replaced traditional ideas of relationships based on morality and the importance of the marital institution itself, with the result, of course, that relationships are also inherently more unstable. Essentially, the argument is that the romantic bonds of the 19th and 20th century were based on taken for granted traditions of patriarchal power and social structures, whereas, the new intimacy is based on self-conscious decision-making about relationships and how rights and responsibilities are to be shared between partners (Santore, 2008, p. 1203) or in Habermasian terms the ‘deliberative character’ of contemporary intimacy.

Broadly speaking within this field of social theory it is possible to discern two camps the pessimists’ demoralisation thesis and the optimists’ democratisation thesis (Williams, 2004). The pessimistic thesis is one in which the decline of the male breadwinner, the rise of women’s financial and social independence, and the acceptance of diversity of sexual lifestyles and lone parenting are all regarded as contributing to a moral vacuum in relation to the family and increases in state dependency. The optimists’ democratisation thesis represented in the theories of Giddens (1992) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995, 2002) as discussed above represents the liberating processes of individualization: in which individuals once freed from old constraints and conventions, can shape their own biographies and identities and reflect on the meaning of their relationships.

Williams herself argues for a concern for empirical complexity in these polarised interpretations of change in family structures in society and for an understanding that, for example, lone parenting and re-partnering is not necessarily harmful to children and the economy at large. She also queries the sweeping changes promised in the democratisation of gender thesis which tends to ‘underestimate the extent to which considerable (old) gender inequalities continue to exist in (new) couple relationships’ (Williams, 2004, p. 22), not least

in relation to domestic violence and the disproportionate burden of infant care and housework that women shoulder. However, I would argue that some of this empirical complexity is actually present in, for example, the writings of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002). In particular, these authors note there is a danger that the new individualised society is placing new constraints in women's lives, while reaping renewed dividends in men's lives. For the purposes of the current discussion on men and reproduction, their discussion of the widening of contraception and access to termination services is of interest. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim stress the ambivalences this has created in women's lives because of increased pressure of sexual expectation for women who may be expected to have orchestrated safe means of contraception in advance '[w]omen become more easily (because more 'inconsequentially') available, while men are freed of responsibility even more than before' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 69). There is, at the very least, an expectation here that not everyone may benefit, tempering a straightforward optimists' viewpoint, but as I will argue further below, the views of men are assumed rather than empirically explored in this thesis.

This empirical complexity is also evident in the 'political economy of love' conceptual framework and detailed ethnographies of love and relationships offered by Padilla, Hirsch, Muñoz-Laboy, Sember and Parker (2007). According to these authors, the political economy of love is an analytical framework that explicitly seeks to avoid the problematic tendency in much of the globalisation literature to create master narratives to the relative exclusion of subjective experiences. Instead, they propose a political economy approach in research involving tracing some of the complex relationships between shifts in the political economy and the lived experiences and practices of love and intimacy. So, for example, they suggest that global capitalist forces rather than heightening love and intimacy in contemporary relationships may instead lead for some to increased commercialisation of intimacy and temporary love (2007: XV) and Hirsch's (2007) work highlights the ways in which equitable love and intimacy amongst heterosexual couples in high income countries may, in turn, be partly based on the outsourcing of domestic labour to less privileged women and immigrants from low-income countries.

So what do theories of intimate relationships in late modernity or post-industrial society add to CSM in advancing understandings of contemporary reproduction and especially men and reproduction? I would argue that these theories set up interesting hypotheses. First, there is a hypothesis here that we are in a new ball park of romantic relationships. In this 'new intimacy', it is understood that reproduction is negotiated and not merely anticipated,

requiring individuals within couples or tri-partite relationships to much more clearly articulate their thoughts about reproduction. So, the question arising is does this hypothesis hold against the evidence of how men articulate their positions in relation to reproduction in intimate relationships?

Second, theories of intimacy suggests the hypothesis that because we are less constrained by traditional discourses of family, this new form of intimacy provides fertile ground for new forms of reproduction such as gay men in partnerships or straight men on their own becoming parents through surrogacy. Again, to what extent is there a momentum of change in the ways in which men legitimise their desires for paternity? Third, the political economy of love frameworks invites us to think about how our experiences of love and intimacy are cross-cut by entrenched political economic differences in, and between, capitalist economies.

Men's scholars arguably, however, have more to add to theories of intimacy than possibly the other way around. What one gains through theories of intimacy are some insights into how the broader reflexive project in society affects family formations. However, there is a notable theoretical impasse in this scholarship in that men's own experiences of the transformation of intimacies and of contemporary family change are overly determined and absented from the theoretical arguments, which is a very significant flaw in this scholarship. Undoubtedly the cross-over between theories of intimacy and empirical research on men and reproduction is apparent in the scholarship on men's which draws on the political economy of love approach (notably Padilla, 2006 and Inhorn, 2006). However, on-going research in relation to men and reproduction including in gay men's lives, for example, Pralat (2014) and Murphy (2013) (see further below), could add some of the necessary understandings of men's perspectives with theories of intimacy. Overall, however, men's experiences of love and intimacy and its relationship to men's understandings of the meaning of reproduction in their lives are currently under-researched.

Sociology of the Body

The sociology of the body or embodied sociology and embodiment in anthropology is important to understanding men and reproduction because it invites probing of why women's bodies have been centred in reproductive medicine and midwifery to the relative neglect of male bodies. Of course, women are the ones who become pregnant and bear children and so

the imbalance towards women's bodies may seem natural or logical. However, the sociology of the body invites critical understanding of how these biological facts become entwined in social practices that result in the enlistment of women's bodies into managing almost all aspects of reproduction and the majority of reproductive risk.

For example, Oudshoorn in her study of the development of the male pill argued that since the introduction of the hormonal pill in the early 1960s, a network of actors have given almost exclusive focus to women in terms of family planning to the relative neglect of men as potential subjects of research, users and clients (Oudshoorn, 2004). The feminisation of family planning has been reinforced over time within biotechnologies and biomedicine as scientists and clinicians assume that they are dealing with women. This pattern is also evident in the case of infertility science which housed in the medical disciplines of obstetrics, gynaecology and women's hospitals, and not in andrology clinics, (Saetnan, Oudshoorn, & Kirejczyk, 2000) has given precedence to that the female body. It has been argued that even in cases where the clinical diagnosis is for male-factor infertility, it is more common for treatments to work upon the female body to make the female oocyte more receptive to 'faulty sperm' in both reproductive science and clinical practice (Clarke, 1998; Laborie, 2000). However, an understanding that these social and biological practices are open to change is equally important. Inhorn (2012) for example argues that 'the earlier feminist credo that only women's bodies are violated in infertility treatments – while men's bodies go "untouched" – is no longer tenable in the new era of assisted conception. The new assisted reproduction treatments involve both 'psychic trauma for some men who are unable to successfully ejaculate through masturbation, and physical trauma for others, whose testicles are poked and prodded' for example in the process of sperm extraction for intracytoplasmic sperm injection (Inhorn, 2012, pp. 49–50).

What these examples suggest is that the biomedical knowledge of female bodies within reproductive science may act to stabilise the idea that women's bodies are the appropriate sites of reproductive medicine and midwifery practice and women are its appropriate consumers, while men may be constructed as by-standers. Yet, they also suggest that there is a larger job for social scientists too in not following the clinical lead and to instead explore in greater depth men's changing experiences of contraception, fertility and infertility treatments and pregnancy.

In the sociology of the body, these relationships between bodies and broader social practices in clinics or in society more widely are theorised in terms of ‘circuits of social embodiment’ (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 852) to explain how bodies shape and become shaped in interaction with social processes. For example, scientists know women’s reproductive bodies and women offer their bodies to reproductive science, and so there is a cyclical body - society relationship. This movement to embodiment also reflects wider efforts in sociology to more adequately account for the materiality of the body in social understandings of gender (Williams & Bendelow, 1999; Williams, Birke, & Bendelow, 2003) while reflecting the anthropology’s more long-standing attention to the inter-relationships between bodily and cultural experiences (Inhorn and Wentzell, 2011). Ultimately, the contribution of this theoretical school to advancing research on men and reproduction is closer attention to the ways in which we experience reproduction through our bodies and closer attention to the way social institutions, such as reproductive science and health systems, shape our understandings of our bodies.

Sociology of Science and Technology (STS)

Very similar arguments exist about technologies in the field of STS, as exist about the body in the new sociology of the body. Just as the sociology of the body is about moving beyond either biological determinism or sociological determinism of bodies, so too, STS is about moving beyond the idea of technological determinism (technology enters from outside the social world yet shapes it) and the opposite somewhat naive view, that technologies do not impact and shape the way we understand society. A central concept in this field is the mutual shaping of technologies which promotes empirical investigations of the ways in which technologies affect social relations while also promoting investigations of how the effects of technologies are socially shaped. For example, Wiebe Bijker talks about opening up the black box of technologies and to recognise them as ‘socio-technical ensembles’ (Bijker, 1997), meaning that technology, even at production stage, is shaped by social as well as technical factors and, furthermore, as technologies become domesticated in everyday use their effects are again changed. In a similar vein but slightly more radically, in Bruno Latour’s Actor-network Theory (Latour, 1987), technologies and human actors are considered asymmetrical, both ‘actants’ with potential equal agency, inviting scholars to empirically explore the relative effects of each.

Thus, this field of research help us open up two primary questions. The first is how new reproductive technologies are shaped by societal considerations as much as technical considerations. It leads to further questioning of why some new technologies come on stream and others do not, or come on stream more slowly than anticipated through regulatory frameworks or professional interests. For example, Almeling (2011) argues that while cryopreservation enabling sperm freezing was available in the United States (US) from the 1950s, the widespread use of sperm banks did not occur until the 1980s in the US because the medical profession sustained a belief that fresh sperm through physician screened patients was more likely to support infertile couples seeking treatment. Her research suggests the ways that technical properties of new technologies are socially negotiated as well as technologically determined.

The second question STS posits is how are new technologies important in shaping new reproductive desires, such as the availability of surrogacy for men in same-sex couples, or egg freezing for women wishing to delay their fertility until an appropriate time. For example, Dean Murphy's (2013) study of high-income gay men in Australia and the US accessing commercial surrogacy service in the US described how gay men moved from a position of acceptance of homosexuality being synonymous with childlessness to an awareness and strong desire to parent a child, through to a strong desire for bio-genetic paternity as the promotional activities of surrogacy agencies through media filtered into their consciousness. Bob Simpson's research on the introduction of artificial reproductive technologies among childless Muslim heterosexual couples from Pakistan living in England described how some participants felt ill at ease with the ways that through engaging with artificial reproductive technology raised consciousness of sexuality, family arrangements and reproduction 'as more matters of choice than incontrovertible givens' (Simpson, 2013: S92). Although neither study draws on an STS analytical framework, both studies illustrate the ways in which new reproductive technologies may be seen as an 'actor' in relationships in Latour's terms and as a vector of new types of intimacies and family formations which may be accepted or rejected.

STS also draws analytical attention to the multiple sites of research available to us for advancing research on men and reproduction. STS and its older sister scholarship of the History of Science have paved ways for the conduct of social science in the biomedical laboratories, where new techniques are developed and tested. One such example is Benninghaus' study of how the science of sperm testing was developed in Europe during the

19th Century at a time when childlessness was implicated in men's bodies and in which men's bodies were the subject of medical scrutiny (through sperm analysis) more than women's (Benninghaus, 2012). A further example is Franklin's studies of artificial reproductive technologies such as Dolly Mixtures: the making of genealogy (Franklin, 2007). STS further opens up studies of complex regulatory networks, involving governmental, professional as well as consumer networks which operate to withhold or release technologies of fertility control. See, for example, Wahlberg's ethnography of the somewhat surprising proliferation of sperm banks in China in an otherwise highly regulated reproductive complex designed to restrict fertility (Wahlberg, 2014).

Finally, STS may serve to further opens up the experiences of end users where technologies are domesticated into people's lives, such as in Barnes's (2014) ethnography of men in infertile relationships and their experience of infertility treatments and Kelly et al's study of men and women's journeys of procreation in HIV affected relationships (Kelly, Lohan, Alderdice, & Spence, 2011). One of the overlapping features of both of these studies is the ways in which men in telling their difficult stories of technology assisted reproduction (either through HIV drugs and timed conception, or assistive reproductive technologies) tended to write the technologies out of their stories of conception. The technologies involved were underplayed and normalised as a means to an end to achieve 'natural' procreation involving unprotected sex with their partners.

Theorising Gender, Intimacy, Bodies and Technology in Reproduction

Figure 1 is an attempt to illustrate how the theories discussed may be drawn together to advance feminist informed research on men and reproduction. Along the top layer are the different bodies of extant theories explored. CSM opens up questions around the cultural discourses and practices of gender relations, especially the formation of masculine identities, and the ways in which gender relations are mediated by social class, ethnicity, sexuality age; Theories of intimacy open up the cultural discourses and material practices of families and relationships and socio-cultural constructions of love and reproduction. Sociology of the body/embodied sociology opens up the significance of the body and the relative limitations of male, female and transgendered bodies; and, finally, STS opens up questions relating to the socio-technical promises of new technologies and the ways in which they extend our ambitions and ability to control and enhance our fertility. The collective concepts and

theories drawn from these ideas open up rich queries and hypotheses to investigate in the biographies of men and women in terms of how they negotiate reproductive desires reproductive planning or non-planning, their respective biological capacities over their own life-course and in relation to the technological possibilities available to them.

Figure 1 MEN AND REPRODUCTION: SOCIETAL RELATIONSHIPS

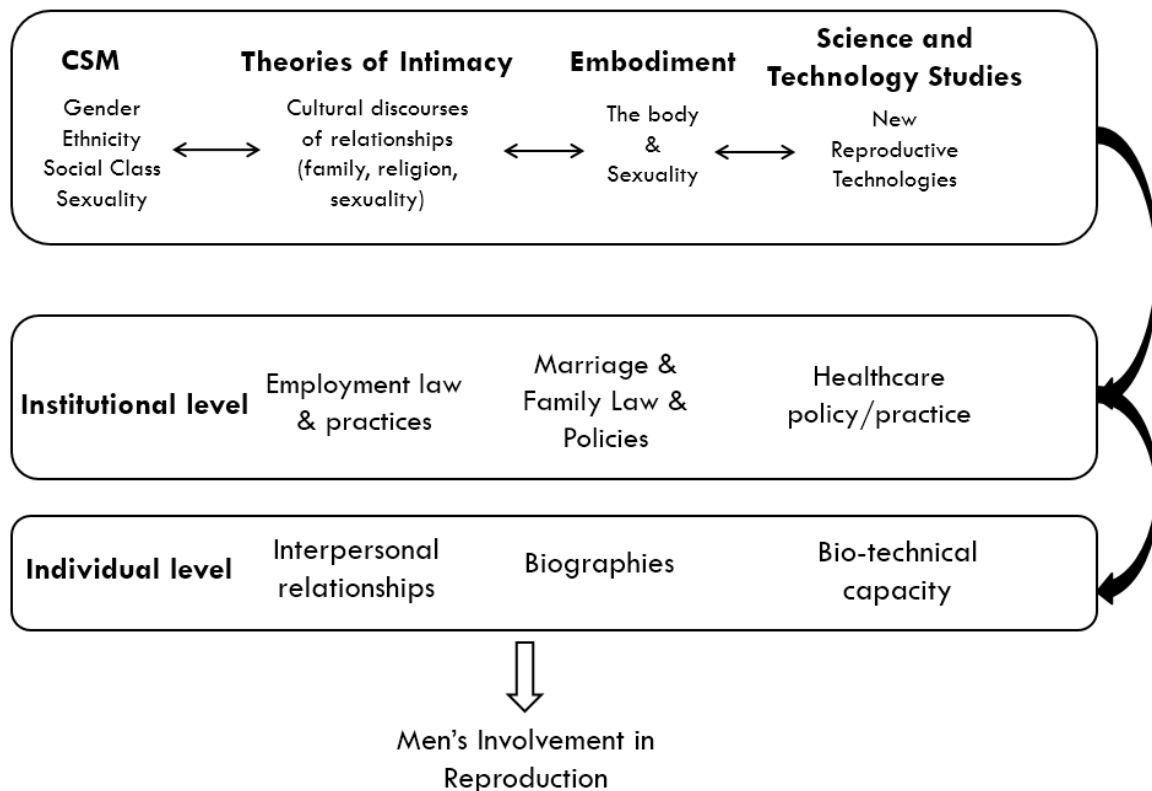


Figure 1

The institutional level will be of interest to scholars of men and reproduction in its own right but it also of significance when researching men's experiences of reproduction. The institutional level represents a space in which the ideas a society holds about intimacy, gender relations, biological and technological capacities are translated into relatively stable ideals such as in employment law and employment practices regulating men's involvement in antenatal care and paternity/adoptive leave, the social and family policies which govern men's relationships with mothers, including surrogate mothers or those to whom they have donated sperm and men's relationships with their children within and outside of marriage. So too, healthcare, reproductive healthcare and the development and availability of reproductive technologies vary widely across the world, affecting men's opportunities for involvement in

reproduction alongside women. The individual level, featured here beneath, refers to how individuals negotiate their interpersonal relationships, through their individual biographies as well as their bodies and bodily capacities over time and as influenced by institutional level just described.

I would like to conclude also with an example of how these theoretical departure points might inform empirical research. The example pertains to adolescent men's attitudes to an unintended teenage pregnancy and their participation in decisions surrounding termination of pregnancy, placing the baby for adoption or keeping the baby. Despite the very significant body of research on adolescent pregnancy, there is a notable dearth of research that examines male perspectives (Lohan, Aventin, Maguire, Clarke, Linden, & McDaid, 2014). Research on unintended pregnancy has focused almost exclusively on women in relation to their responses to such a pregnancy and decision-making processes, leaving important questions concerning the male partners' roles in preventing unintended pregnancy or indeed in terms of counselling young men who have an unintended pregnancy with a partner (see Reich, 2008; Kero, Lalos, & Wulff, 2010; Kero & Lalos, 2004 as examples of research in relation to *adult* men and experiences of abortion decision making & see Lohan, Cruise, O'Halloran, Alderdice, & Hyde, 2011, for a systematic review of research on *adolescent* men's attitudes and decision-making on unintended pregnancy and pregnancy resloution options).

While research with women confirms the importance of men's roles in defining and constraining women's responses to an unplanned pregnancy in general (Cowley & Farley, 2001; Kero, Högberg, Jacobsson, & Lalos, 2001; Mahon, Conlon, & Dillon, 1998; Sihvo, Bajos, Ducot, & Kaminski, 2003) and specifically the importance of adolescent men's roles (Broen, Moun, Bödtker, & Ekeberg, 2005; Resnick, 1992; Stevenson, Maton, & Teti, 1999), we lack an understanding of what an unintended pregnancy might mean in adolescent men's lives which might serve to challenge the conflicting stereotypes of controlling males and disinterested males (Lohan, Olivari, & Corkindale, 2013; Lohan et al., 2011).

CSM invites scholarship by turning the mirror onto these kinds of reproductive issues in men's lives alongside that of women's, it invites exploration of diversity of men's experiences of this universal phenomenon across all corners of the globe including what the terms 'intentional' and 'unintentional' may mean to men at different ages across the lifecourse. CSM invites consideration of what might be the prevailing hegemonic masculine ideals amongst men of differing sexualities class and creed. We might hypothesise that

hegemonic ideals might vary along a continuum of wanting to be an involved caring reproductive partner through to masculine agnosticism of a woman's problem and inviting questions of when and how, if at all, such hegemonic ideals might be represented and where.

CSM also invites consideration of the empirical complexity between structure and agency in gender-relations of pregnancy resolution choices. At an individual level, while there are a handful of countries across the globe where a woman requires the permission of her spouse to have a termination of pregnancy, most countries protect a woman's right to choose (Culley et al., 2013), purportedly giving women greater agency over a male partner in making that choice. However, at a structural level, regulations governing the availability of abortion in a society can very significantly impact upon a woman's right to choose. Structural constraints on women's choices are mostly decided at the level of state or nation with notable influence from powerful elites, such as in the church and legal profession, where women's voices are not the majority. Thus, the concept of the gender relations of power within CSM throws light on the tensions and contradictions between patriarchal structures restricting women's right to choose within a given jurisdiction as well as decision pathways inside couples' relationships and the family milieu. Very little research to-date has opened up the black box of gendered decision-making within couples with adequate reference to men's perspectives.

Theories of contemporary intimacy add layers of meaning and invite further questioning of understandings of adolescent men's attitudes and decision-making in relation to unintended pregnancy. An application of this theory to this study begs the question of what might deliberative intentionality non-intentionality mean in the case of an 'unintended pregnancy'. Furthermore, it invites consideration of whether decision-making in relation to pregnancy resolution on behalf of both parties of the couple will reflect the hypothesised shift in new intimacy. In other words, will young men's descriptions of these decision-making processes imply deliberative engagement and involve self-conscious decision-making about relationships and how rights and responsibilities are to be shared between partners in relation to the immediate decision as well as looking to the future? Or, will their description of decision making be more recognisably embedded in the cultural discourses of modernity with references to institutional powers such as morality and family and women's versus men's rights?

The sociology of the body is very relevant because the feminist argument is based around the idea of 'my body my decision'. So this body of theory suggest the importance of

investigating the extent, and ways by which, men may claim some embodiment in relation to an unintended pregnancy, for example, “the child is part-mine also”. Equally, it would be of interest to investigate if their partners also claim male embodiment in order to gain male investment in the decision-making process or outcome. For example “It’s yours, you know, and don’t try to deny it.”

STS raises very interesting questions for this study too because it asks us to think how gendered embodied relationships are mediated by technology. It offers sensitising research questions relating to access to the technologies for the termination of pregnancy and also promotes inquiry on the gendered social meanings of the technologies themselves as well as the physical environments where individuals access the technical apparatus of termination services. For example, it raises questions of young people in relation to whether or not they view oral contraception as feminine technology and a male condom as male technology and how might retrospective accounts of who was responsible for what technology in preventing the pregnancy mediate their subsequent power and positioning to decide how the pregnancy should be resolved. Furthermore, what is the impact of new technologies such as mifepristone ‘the abortion pill’, especially when made available outside of the abortion clinic? Does this become an ‘actant’ in the gender dynamics and negotiation processes open to young women and men and their guardians? Does it individualise decision-making by reducing the agency of the state and healthcare system to intervene in the decisions of individuals?

In final conclusion, I join forces with other scholars of reproduction in outlining an agenda for further research on men and reproduction (Hearn, 1983; Marsiglio 1993; Marsiglio et al 2013; Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2004; Oudshoorn, 2004; Kero & Lalos, 2004; Daniels, 2006; Inhorn et al, 2009; Sherr, 2010; Gutmann, 2011; Barnes, 2013; Culley et al, 2013; Almeling and Waggoner, 2013 Lindberg & Kost, 2014 and Reich, 2015). Reproduction is everyone’s business and to overlook men’s involvement in reproduction is very obviously missing a crucial element in understanding reproductive desires, reproductive decision pathways *and* contemporary gender relations. I also offer a theoretical framework grounded in Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities but which draws additional concepts from theories of contemporary intimacy in society, the sociology of the body/embodiment and STS. What I am aiming for is richer research on men and reproduction, which is feminist informed, reflects on the social shaping of intimate relationships in a variety of societies and draws in the materiality of the body and technologies in these relationships. Feminist informed research on men and reproduction will provoke change in people’s lives not only by

stimulating new understandings of men, women and reproduction but also in terms of changing the modus operandi of reproductive healthcare and the ways we live and love.

References

- Almeling, R. (2011). *Sex Cells: The Medical Market for Eggs and Sperm*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Almeling, R., & Waggoner, M. R. (2013). More and Less than Equal How Men Factor in the Reproductive Equation. *Gender & Society*, 27(6). doi:10.1177/0891243213484510
- Annandale, E., & Clark, J. (1996). What is gender? Feminist theory and the sociology of human reproduction. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 18(1), 17–44.
- Annandale, E., & Riska, E. (2009). New Connections: Towards a Gender-Inclusive Approach to Women's and Men's Health. *Current Sociology*, 57(2), 123–133.
- Barnes, L. W. (2014). *Conceiving Masculinity: Male Infertility, Medicine, and Identity*. Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995). *The Normal Chaos of Love*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*. London: Sage Publications.
- Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Reinventing the Family: In Search of New Lifestyles*. Polity.
- Bellah, E. R. N., Bellah, R. N., Tipton, S. M., Sullivan, W. M., Madsen, R., Swidler, A., Sullivan, W. M. & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benninghaus, C. (2012). Beyond Constructivism?: Gender, Medicine and the Early History of Sperm Analysis, Germany 1870-1900. *Gender & History*, 24(3), 647–676.
- Bijker, W. (1997). *Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs : Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Bird, S. R. (1996). WELCOME TO THE MEN'S CLUB: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Gender & Society*, 10, 120–132.
- Birke, L. (2003). Shaping biology: Feminism and the idea of “the biological.” In S. Williams, L. Birke, & G. Bendelow (Eds.), *Debating biology: sociological reflections on health, medicine and society*. London: Routledge, pp. 39 – 51.
- Broen, A., Moun, T., Bödtker, A. S., & Ekeberg, O. (2005). Reasons for induced abortion and their relation to women's emotional distress: a prospective, two-year follow-up study. *General Hospital Psychiatry*, 27(1), 36–43.
- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S. L., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child Development*, 71(1), 127–36.

- Carrigan, T., Connell, R. W., & Lee, J. (1985). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. *Theory and Society*, 14(5), 551–604.
- Chant, S., & Gutmann, M. (2002). “Men-streaming” gender? Questions for gender and development policy in the twenty-first century. *Progress in Development Studies*.
- Clarke, A. (1998). *Disciplining Reproduction: Modernity, American Life Sciences, and the Problems of Sex*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities: knowledge, power and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859.
- Cowley, C., & Farley, T. (2001). Adolescent girls’ attitudes toward pregnancy: the importance of asking what the boyfriend wants. *The Journal of Family Practice*, 50(7), 603–607.
- Culley, L., Hudson, N. & Lohan, M. (2013) Where are all the men? The marginalisation of men in social scientific research on infertility. *Reproductive Biomedicine Online*. DOI: 10.1016/j.rbmo.2013.06.009 <http://authors.elsevier.com/sd/article/S1472648313003544L>
- Daniels, C. R. (2006) *Exposing Men: The Science and Politics of Male Reproduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deeney, K., Lohan, M., Spence, D., & Parkes, J. (2012). Experiences of fathering a baby admitted to neonatal intensive care: A critical gender analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 75(6), 1106–1113.
- Department for Education (UK). (2010). *Support for All: the Families and Relationships Green Paper*. London: UK Gov.
- Dominelli, L., & Gollins, T. (1997). Men, power and caring relationships. *Sociological Review*, 45(3), 396–415.
- Dudgeon, M. R., & Inhorn, C. (2004). Men’s influences on women's reproductive health: medical anthropological perspectives. *Social Science & Medicine*, 59(7), 1379–95.
- Dudgeon, M. R., & Inhorn, M. C. (2009). Gender, Masculinity and Reproduction. In M. C. Inhorn, T. Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, W. A. Goldberg, & M. la Cour Mosegaard (Eds.), *Reconceiving the Second Sex: Men, Masculinity, and Reproduction*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 103 – 137.
- Franklin, S. (2007). *Dolly Mixtures: The Remaking of Genealogy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Furedi, F. (2008). *Paranoid parenting. Why ignoring the experts may be the best for your child*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Goldberg, W. A., Tan, E. T., & Thorsen, K. L. (2009). Trends in Academic Attention to Fathers, 1930-2006. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 7(2), 159–179.
- Gordon, L. (1977). *Woman's body, woman's right: a social history of birth control in America*. NY: Viking Press.
- Greene, M. E., & Biddlecom, A. E. (2000). Absent and Problematic Men: Demographic Accounts of Male Reproductive Roles. *Population and Development Review*, 26(1), 81–115.
- Gutmann, M. (2011). Planning Men out of Family Planning: A Case Study from Mexico. In C. Browner & C. Sargent (Eds.), *Reproduction, Globalization, and the State: New Theoretical and Ethnographic Perspectives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp 53 – 67.
- Hearn, J. (1983). *Birth and afterbirth: a materialist account*. London: Achilles Heel.
- Hearn, J., & Morgan, D. H. J. (1990). *Men, masculinities & social theory*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Hirsch, J. S. (2007). "Love Makes a Family": Globalization, Companionate Marriage, and the Modernization of Gender Inequality. In Padilla, M. B., Hirsch, J. S., Muñoz-Laboy, M., Sember, R. E., & Parker, R. G. (Eds.) *Love and globalization. Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 93 – 106.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Messner, M.A. (1998) Gender displays and men's power: The 'new man' and Mexican immigrant man. In Gergen, M.M., & Davis, S.N. (Eds.), *Toward a new psychology of gender*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 503-520.
- Horn, W., & Sylvester, T. (2002). *Father Facts*. MD: National Fatherhood Initiative.
- Inhorn, M. C. (2007) Loving Your Infertile Muslim Spouse: Notes on the Globalization of IVF and its Romantic Commitments in Sunni Egypt and Shia Lebanon. In Padilla, M. B., Hirsch, J. S., Muñoz-Laboy, M., Sember, R. E., & Parker, R. G. (Eds.) *Love and globalization. Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 139 – 160.
- Inhorn, M. C. (2012). *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies and Islam in the Middle East*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inhorn, M. C., Chavkin, W., & Navarro, J. A. (2014). Introduction. In Inhorn, M. C., Chavkin, W., & Navarro, J. A. (Eds) *Globalized Fatherhood: Emergent Forms and Possibilities in the New Millennium*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 1 – 39.
- Inhorn, M. C., Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, T., Goldberg, H., & la Cour Mosegaard, M. (2009). *Reconceiving the Second Sex: Men, Masculinity, and Reproduction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Inhorn, M. C., & Wentzell, E. A. (2011). Embodying emergent masculinities: Men engaging with reproductive and sexual health technologies in the Middle East and Mexico. *American Ethnologist*, 38(4), 801-815.
- Jamieson, L. M. (1997). *Intimacy: Personal Relationships in Modern Societies*. London: Polity Press.

- Kelly, C., Lohan, M., Alderdice, F., & Spence, D. (2011). Negotiation of risk in sexual relationships and reproductive decision-making amongst HIV sero-different couples. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 13(7), 815–27.
- Kero, A., Högberg, U., Jacobsson, L., & Lalos, A. (2001). Legal abortion: a painful necessity. *Social Science & Medicine*, 53(11), 1481–1490.
- Kero, A., & Lalos, A. (2004). Reactions and reflections in men, 4 and 12 months post-abortion. *Journal of Psychosomatic Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 25(2), 135–43.
- Kero, A., Lalos, A., & Wulff, M. (2010). Home abortion-experiences of male involvement. *The European Journal of Contraception and Reproductive Health Care*, 15(4), 264–270.
- Kimmel, M. (1987). *Changing men: New directions in research on men and masculinity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kimmel, S. B., & Mahalik, J. R. (2005). Body Image Concerns of Gay Men: The Roles of Minority Stress and Conformity to Masculine Norms. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73(6), 1185.
- Lazar, M.M. (2000) Gender, discourse and semiotics: The politics of parenthood representations. *Discourse and Society*, 11(3), 373-400.
- Laborie, F. (2000). Gender-base management of new reproductive technologies: A comparison between in Vitro fertilization and Intracytoplasmic Sperm Injection. In A. R. Saetnan, N. Oudshoorn, & M. S. M. Kirejczyk (Eds.), *Bodies of technology: Women's involvement with reproductive medicine*. Ohio: Ohio State University Press, pp. 278 – 302.
- Lasch, C. (1977). *Haven in a Heartless World*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lasch, C. (1979). *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*. New York: Norton & Co.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action. How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindberg L.D. & Kost K. (2014) Exploring U.S. men's birth intentions. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 18(3): 625-633.
- Lewis, C. E., & Lamb, M. E. (2007). *Understanding fatherhood*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Lohan, M., Aventin, A., Maguire, L., Clarke, M., Linden, M., & McDaid, L. (2014). Feasibility trial of a film-based educational intervention for increasing boys' and girls' intentions to avoid teenage pregnancy: Study protocol. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 68, 35–45.
- Lohan, M., Cruise, S., O'Halloran, P., Alderdice, F., & Hyde, A. (2011). Adolescent men's attitudes and decision-making in relation to an unplanned pregnancy. Responses to an interactive video drama. *Social Science & Medicine*, 72(9), 1507–1514.
- Lohan, M., Olivari, M., & Corkindale, C. (2013). Adolescent Men's Pregnancy Resolution Choices in Relation to an Unintended Pregnancy A Comparative Analysis of Adolescent Men in Three Countries. *Journal of Family Issues*, 34(8), 1037.

- Machin, A. J. (2015). Mind the Gap: The Expectation and Reality of Involved Fatherhood Fathering. *Fathering*, 13(1), 36-59.
- Mahon, E., Conlon, C., & Dillon, L. (1998). *Women and Crisis Pregnancy*. Dublin.
- Marsiglio, W. (1993). Adolescent males' orientation toward paternity and contraception. *Family Planning Perspectives*, 25(1), 22–31.
- Marsiglio, W., Lohan, M., & Culley, L. (2013). Framing men's experience in the procreative realm. *Journal of Family Issues*, 34(8), 1011–1036.
- Murphy, D. A. (2013). The Desire for Parenthood: Gay Men Choosing to Become Parents Through Surrogacy. *Journal of Family Issues*, 34(8), 1104–1124.
- Oudshoorn, N. (2004). "Astronauts in the Sperm World": The Renegotiation of Masculine Identities in Discourses on Male Contraceptives. *Men and Masculinities*, 6(4), 349–367.
- Philip, G. & O'Brien, M. (2012) Supporting fathers after separation or divorce: evidence and insights, Research Report. Norwick: University of East Anglia.
- Pralat, R. (2014) Repro-sexual intersections: sperm donation, HIV prevention and the public interest in semen. *Reproductive BioMedicine Online*, 30,(3), 211–219.
- Rapp, R. (1998) Refusing Prenatal Diagnosis The Uneven Meanings of Bioscience in a Multicultural World. In Davis-Floyd, R. and Dumit, J. (Eds.) *Cyborg Babies From Techno-Sex to Techno-Tots*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 143-167.
- Reich, J. A. (2008). Not Ready to Fill His Father's Shoes: A Masculinist Discourse of Abortion. *Men and Masculinities*, 11(1), 3–21.
- Resnick, M. D. (1992). Adolescent pregnancy options. *Journal of School Health*, 62(7), 298–303.
- Saetnan, A., Oudshoorn, N., & Kirejczyk, M. (2000). *Bodies of Technology: Women's Involvement with Reproductive Medicine*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Santore, D. (2008). Romantic Relationships, Individualism and the Possibility of Togetherness: Seeing Durkheim in Theories of Contemporary Intimacy. *Sociology*, 42(6), 1200–1217.
- Sarkadi, A., Kristiansson R., Oberklaid F., & Bremberg S. (2008) Fathers' involvement and children's developmental outcomes: a systematic review of longitudinal studies. *Acta Paediatrica* 97(2), 153-158.
- Sherr, L. (2010) Fathers and HIV: considerations for families. *Journal of the International AIDS Society* 13(Suppl 2):S4.
- Sihvo, S., Bajos, N., Ducot, B., & Kaminski, M. (2003). Women's life cycle and abortion decision in unintended pregnancies. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 57(8), 601–605.
- Simpson, B. (2013). Managing Potential in Assisted Reproductive Technologies. *Current Anthropology*, 54(S7), S87-S96.

- Stevenson, W., Maton, K. I., & Teti, D. I. (1999). Social support, relationship quality, and well-being among pregnant adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 22(1), 109–121.
- UNFPA. (1995). *Male involvement in reproductive health: Partners for women's empowerment*. New York: United Nations.
- UNFPA. (1994). *Report of the International Conference on Population and Development*. New York: United Nations.
- Wahlberg, A. (2014). Good Quality - Assuring transmission in a Chinese sperm bank. *Paper presented at Contested Sperm, Sterility and Masculinity Conference*. Cambridge UK.
- Williams, F. (2004). *Rethinking families*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Williams, S. J., & Bendelow, G. A. (1999). *The Lived Body: Sociological Themes, Embodied Issues*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, S. J., Birke, L., & Bendelow, G. A. (2003). *Debating biology: sociological reflections on health, medicine and society*. London: Routledge.